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Missiles

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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Replies received from Member States

Pakistan

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1. Pakistan is fully committed to the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This goal should be pursued on the basis of the principle of undiminished security for all States, irrespective of their size and status. Moreover, any multilateral arrangement that runs contrary to the norms of equity and justice and seeks partial and one-sided solutions is bound to be controversial and thus unlikely to attain universal adherence. The disarmament processes, at both the global and regional levels, therefore, need to avoid discriminatory approaches if they are to be genuinely complementary to international peace and stability.

2. Pakistan believes that, like any other arms control and disarmament issue, the question of missiles also needs to be addressed realistically and comprehensively. The viewpoint that the acquisition of missile capabilities by countries which in the past did not have such capabilities constitutes a threat to peace and security, is misleading. The missile capabilities currently existing or emerging in developing countries are of no significance compared to the massive delivery capabilities possessed by the nuclear-weapon States under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their allies. Considering the issue of missiles in the limited context of "horizontal proliferation" will inevitably lead to partial, iniquitous and controversial solutions.

3. The problems associated with missiles should be addressed in their proper global and regional contexts. Only through an overarching step-by-step approach can the international community realistically expect to attain concrete results.

4. At the global level, the main problem is that those with the most formidable missile capabilities are not ready to part with them. Some of them wish to maintain strategic advantages at any cost and indefinitely. In regional situations, the ballistic missile programmes in the Middle East, South Asia and North-East Asia, which are often the focus of international commentary, each represent different security dynamics and compulsions. A single set of prescriptions or yardsticks cannot address the diversity of situations.

5. The first and foremost challenge for the international community is to establish an equitable framework to deal with missiles. While the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is projected by certain parties to the regime as an international "standard", there is in fact no agreed international legal framework currently available dealing with the question of missiles. Current policies and media campaigns targeting specific countries are a matter of political preference, rather than any genuine, rational pursuit of disarmament and security objectives. For the purposes of evolving a global approach, it is essential that the MTCR be replaced by a comprehensive multilateral dialogue on the issue in the Conference on Disarmament or similar appropriate United Nations forum.

6. Meanwhile, some interim measures are necessary to remove the immediate threats to international peace. In the post-cold war period, there is simply no justification for the nuclear-weapon States under the Non-Proliferation Treaty to

keep their nuclear forces, especially their missiles, whether ground- or sea-based, on alert status. The first step must therefore involve formulating de-alert measures. These should be followed by progressive steps to dismantle all delivery vehicles. Strategic bomber forces could become the subject of subsequent negotiations. These would constitute major confidence-building measures, ultimately leading to the goal of negotiating a global treaty addressing the issue of missiles *in all its aspects* as part of a comprehensive nuclear disarmament programme.

7. In parallel to these confidence-building measures, discussions could also be commenced for multilaterally negotiated controls over sensitive technologies. Transfers of technologies and equipment meant for peaceful purposes, including civilian space programmes, should be facilitated.

8. Pakistan hopes that the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Missiles in All Their Aspects would deliberate on the issue in all its aspects and come up with comprehensive recommendations.

9. Together with multilateral measures, efforts should be made to address regional security situations and concerns. In South Asia, where Pakistan is situated, both nuclear-weapon and ballistic-missile capabilities are now a reality. If India proceeds to implement its ambitious nuclear doctrine and deploy nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, the situation in South Asia will become further aggravated. Pakistan has refrained from taking any step that would lead to a nuclear arms race in the region and continues to follow a policy of responsibility and restraint. Its proposal for a strategic restraint regime in South Asia remains on the table. The proposal envisages a regime based on credible nuclear deterrence at the minimum possible level, including non-induction of anti-ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles in the region, as well as measures for confidence-building, conventional arms restraint and removal of the underlying causes of tension and conflict, in particular the long-standing Kashmir dispute.

10. The Thirteenth Ministerial Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, in April 2000, underscored "the need for a comprehensive approach towards missiles, in a balanced and non-discriminatory manner, as a contribution to international peace and security". Pakistan is fully committed to this approach and will continue playing its constructive role in this regard.